

Message Text

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TO AMCONSUL HAMILTON IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 239591

PLEASE PASS TO UNDER SECRETARY SISCO

FOLLOWING MESSAGE REPEATS NEW DELHI 14598 ACTION

DACCA SECSTATE INFO ISLAMABAD KABUL TEHRAN 30

OCTOBER 1974. QUOTE:

UNCLAS NEW DELHI 14598

DEPARTMENT PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR GEN. SCOWCROFT AND NESSEN

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP PFOR IN US (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S PRESS CONFERENCE IN NEW DELHI OCTOBER 30

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TRANSCRIPT OF THE SECRETARY'S PRESS CONFERENCE IN NEW DELHI OCTOBER 30. HE WAS INTRODUCED BY FOREIGN SECRETARY KEWAL SINGH, MADE A BRIEF OPENING STATEMENT, AND THEN ANSWERED QUESTIONS.

2. KEWAL SINGH: LADIES AND GENTLEMEN WE HAVE AS YOU SEE THIS MORNING WITH US DR. HENRY KISSINGER THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND PERHAPS THE MOST EMINENT PERSONALITY IN THE INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY TODAY. AT ONE TIME WITH HIS VERY HEAVY SCHEDULE IT SEEMED ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE IF HE'D BE ABLE TO MEET YOU WHICH HE VERY MUCH WANTED TO DO.
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BUT AS YOU ALL KNOW DR. KISSINGER HAS A FLAIR FOR RESOLVING THE IMPOSSIBLE. WE ARE HAPPY THAT HE IS HERE WITH US. THE CONFERENCE IS EXACTLY FOR 30 MINUTES. AFTER HE HAS SAID A FEW WORDS, YOU ARE WELCOME TO SHOOT YOUR QUESTIONS. BEFORE ASKING

THE QUESTIONS PLEASE KINDLY ANNOUNCE YOUR NAME AND THE AGENCY ON THE PRESS YOU REPRESENT. THANK YOU.

3. SECRETARY KISSINGER: I WANT TO EXPRESS MY APPRECIATION AND THAT OF MY COLLEAGUES FOR THE EXTRAORDINARILY WARM RECEPTIONS THAT WE HAVE RECEIVED HERE. THE TALKS WERE CORDIAL, AND FRANK, AND EXTREMELY USEFUL. I THINK WE HAVE SUCCEEDED, JOINTLY IN ESTABLISHING A MATURE AND GOOD BASIS FOR THE FUTURE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDIA AND THE UNITED STATES AND WE ALSO HAD ENOUGH OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW WORLD DEVELOPMENTS. SO, I BELIEVE WE HAVE TURNED A NEW PAGE AND ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES' MY IMPRESSION IS ALSO ON THAT OF INDIA, WE WILL WORK WITH DEDICATION AND SERIOUSNESS TO GIVE IT A MEANING THAT WILL BE OF BENEFIT TO BOTH OF OUR PEOPLES AS WELL AS TO THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD. NOW I'LL BE GLAD TO TAKE YOUR QUESTIONS.

4. Q: HOW SUCCESSFUL DO YOU THINK YOUR VISIT HAS BEEN?

A: INDIA AND THE UNITED STATES ARE BOTH MAJOR COUNTRIES WHICH ARE LOCATED OF COURSE IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE WORLD AND DO NOT NECESSARILY HAVE A COMPLETE IDENTITY OF VIEWS ON EVERY SUBJECT. BUT, IN TERMS OF THE PURPOSE THAT WE SET OURSELVES, WHICH WAS TO ESTABLISH A BASIS FOR A NEW AND MATURE RELATIONSHIP, I CONSIDER THE TRIP COMPLETELY SUCCESSFUL.

5. Q: IS THERE ANY RETHINKING ON THE PART OF THE USA ON LIFTING OR RELAXING THE EMBARGO ON SUPPLY OF LETHAL WEAPONS TO PAKISTAN IN LIGHT OF MR. BHUTTO'S THREAT THAT PAKISTAN WOULD GO NUCLEAR IF USA DID NOT RESUME ARMS SUPPLY?

A: I HAVE HAD OCCASION TO SAY IN SEVERAL MEETINGS THAT I DO NOT THINK IT IS APPROPRIATE FOR ME TO MAKE STATEMENTS THAT AFFECT OTHER COUNTRIES? OF THE SUBCONTINENT WHILE I'M IN NEW DELHI. OUR CURRENT POLICY IS WELL KNOWN. WE HAVE ALREADY STATED THAT WE WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN AN ARMS RACE ON THE SUBCONTINENT. BEYOND THAT I DO NOT THINK IT WOULD BE UNCLASSIFIED

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APPROPRIATE FOR ME TO GO WHILE I'M HERE.

6. Q: THE TWO POINTS WHICH HAVE EMERGED FROM THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE PUBLISHED TODAY ARE THAT YOU MADE NO DIRECT REFERENCE TO ECONOMIC AID TO INDIA IN YOUR TALKS WITH C. SUBRAMANIAM AND THAT THE QUESTION OF THE SUPPLY OF FOOD TO INDIA WILL BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DECISION OF THE FORTHCOMING WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE AT ROME. NOW I JUST WANTED TO KNOW WHETHER YOU IN THE COURSE OF YOUR TALKS THREW ANY HINT ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF THE RESUMPTION OF ECONOMIC AID TO INDIA AND FOOD SUPPLIES ON A BILATERAL BASIS IRRESPECTIVE OF THE DECISIONS THAT MIGHT BE TAKEN AT THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE AT ROME?

A: LET ME DEAL WITH THIS QUESTION IN TWO PARTS. I THINK ONE OF THE ASPECTS OF THE RELATIONSHIP THAT IS DEVELOPING NOW BETWEEN INDIA AND THE UNITED STATES IS THAT WE CAN TALK TO EACH OTHER FREE OF COMPLEXES. ONE OF THE COMPLEXES THAT HAS AFFECTED OUR RELATIONSHIP IN THE PAST HAS BEEN WHO WAS ASKING WHOM FOR WHAT. AND SECONDLY, WHETHER THE UNITED STATES WAS DOING ANYBODY A FAVOR BY EXTENDING AID OR OTHER FORMS OF COOPERATION. LET ME SAY FIRST OF ALL THAT WHEN THE UNITED STATES UNDERTAKES A CERTAIN MEASURE WITH RESPECT TO INDIA, OR ANY OTHER COUNTRY, IT DOES SO IN ITS OWN INTEREST AS WELL AS IN THE INTERESTS OF THE OTHER COUNTRY. UNLESS THERE IS A JOINT INTEREST THERE IS NO FIRM BASIS FOR COMMON ACTION. WE HAVE AN INTEREST IN A STABLE, GROWING SUB CONTINENT, AND THEREFORE, WHEN WE DISCUSS AID WITH INDIA, IT IS NOT IN THE CONTEXT OF INDIA ASKING US FOR A SPECIAL FAVOR BUT OF DEFINING JOINT OBJECTIVES. NOW, THE COMMISSION THAT HAS BEEN SET UP WILL PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR DISCUSSING COMMON OBJECTIVES, IN A REALISTIC FRAMEWORK; AND WITHIN THAT FRAMEWORK I AM CERTAIN THAT THE QUESTION OF WHAT MEASURES CAN BE TAKEN BY THE UNITED STATES TO ASSIST IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA IN OUR JOINT INTEREST WILL UNDOUBTEDLY COME UP, AND IN THAT CONTEXT IT ALSO CAME UP INFORMALLY IN SOME OF THE TALKS THAT WERE CONDUCTED.

WITH RESPECT TO THE FOOD PROBLEM THERE ARE AGAIN TWO ASPECTS. ONE IS THOSE MEASURES WHICH THE UNITED STATES TAKES AS A UNCLASSIFIED

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COUNTRY INDIVIDUALLY AND THOSE MEASURES WHICH IT PROPOSES THAT THE WORLD WILL TAKE ON A MULTILATERAL BASIS. AT THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE I INTEND TO PUT BEFORE THE OTHER NATIONS THE ENTIRE UNITED STATES APPROACH TO THE WORLD FOOD PROBLEM: THOSE STEPS THAT ARE TAKEN ON A NATIONAL BASIS AS WELL AS THOSE STEPS WHICH ARE TAKEN ON A MULTILATERAL BASIS. THOSE STEPS WHICH THE US IS PREPARED TO TAKE ON A NATIONAL BASIS OBVIOUSLY DO NOT HAVE TO WAIT FOR THE DECISIONS OF THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE. AND THOSE STEPS WILL INCLUDE AS FAR AS THE US IS CONFERENCED, A PROGRAM OF FOOD ASSISTANCE TO INDIA.

7. Q: I WANT TO ASK YOU A FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION: USA AND INDIA ARE THE TWO BIGGEST DEMOCRACIES OF THE WORLD. NATURALLY, IT WAS EXPECTED THERE SHOULD HAVE BEEN BEST COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO. BUT INSTEAD, IT HAPPENED TO THE CONTRARY. I AM NOT GOING INTO THE REASONS BUT WHAT SURPRISES ME IS THAT YOUR COUNTRY HAS MADE UP WITH THE TWO BIGGEST COMMUNIST COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD AND ALSO SUPPORTED SOME OF THE DICTATORIAL COUNTRIES. IN OUR SIDE, TOO, WE HAD COME CLOSER WITH SOCIALIST COMMUNIST COUNTRIES HEADED BY USSR. DOES IT MEAN THAT THE DEMOCRATIC

COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD HAD NO REAL FAITH IN THE PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRACY, I AM AWARE THAT YOU CAN REPLY ONLY TO YOUR SIDE. DOES IT ALSO MEAN THAT USA, THE STAUNCH BELIEVER OF THE DEMOCRACY, DOES NOT WANT DEMOCRACY TO FLOURISH IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD?

-: THIS IS A QUESTION I HEAR OCCASIONALLY AT OUR PRESS CONFERENCES IN AMERICA, THOUGH STATED WITH LESS ELOQUENCE. THE US HAS TWO CATEGORIES OF CONCERNS IN THE WORLD. ONE HAS TO DO WITH THE PROBLEM OF PEACE, SECURITY AND THE AVOIDANCE OF A HOLOCAUST. THE SECOND IS INFLUENCED BY THE BASIC ORIENTATION OF OUR VALUES IN WHICH OF COURSE OUR PREFERENCE FOR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS PLAYS A VERY IMPORTANT ROLE. NOW, UNDER IDEAL CIRCUMSTANCES, THOSE TWO STRANDS OF OUR POLICY SHOULD OPERATE SIDE BY SIDE, HOWEVER, THERE ARE MANY CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH A CHOICE MAY HAVE TO BE MADE. FOR EXAMPLE, THE QUESTION OF THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR CANNOT WAIT FOR THE EMERGENCE OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION, BECAUSE WHEN YOU HAVE TWO COUNTRIES CAPABLE OF DESTROYING HUMAN LIFE YOU HAVE A NUMBER OF PRACTICAL PROBLEMS THAT ARISE.
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SIMILARY, IT WAS OUR VIEW THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO THINK OF A PEACEFUL INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT WITHOUT AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AND REGULAR CONTACTS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. THIS DOES NOT MEAN APPROBATION OF THE DOMESTIC STRUCTURE OF THESE GOVERNMENTS, BUT IT DOES MEAN THAT THERE ARE CERTAIN PRACTICAL PROBLEMS THAT REQUIRE SOLUTIONS OF AN OVERWHELMING IMPORTANCE. IN THE AREA WHERE WE BELIEVE WE HAVE A CHOICE, OUR PREFERENCE FOR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS OUGHT TO BE CLEAR; BUT THERE ARE THESE TWO STRANDS OF OUR POLICY WHICH, FOR THE SAKE OF THE PEACE OF THE WORLD, HAVE TO BE KEPT IN VIEW.

8 Q. MR. SECRETARY, HAS INDIA ASKED FOR FOOD AND IF SO, HOW MUCH, AND WHAT IS IT THAT THE US IS PREPARED TO GIVE?

A: I DO NOT LIKE TO HAVE THE QUESTION PUT IN TERMS OF: HAS INDIA ASKED FOR FOOD? THERE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSIONS WITH RESPECT TO FOOD WHICH WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO RECONSTRUCT OF EXACTLY WHO INITIATED WHAT. BUT, THERE HAS BEEN DISCUSSION AS TO THE AMOUNT OF FOOD THAT THE UNITED STATES CAN MAKE AVAILABLE. AS YOU KNOW, THE LARGE SURPLUSES WHICH EXISTED IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE 1960S, BOTH IN TERMS OF RESERVES AS WELL AS IN TERMS OF CURRENT PRODUCTION, HAVE BEEN SUBSTANTIALLY ERODED, SUCH THAT OUR FOOD ASSISTANCE TO ANY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD NOW DEPENDS ON OUR ANNUAL PRODUCTION AND ON OUR ANNUAL SURPLUS. AND, GIVEN THE WORLDWIDE SHORTAGE OF FOOD, THIS SITUATION IS RATHER TIGHT. BECAUSE OF THE IMPACT ON THE DOMESTIC MARKET IN THE UNITED STATES WE HAVE HAD TO MAKE OUR DECISIONS ON A QUARTERLY BASIS UP TO NOW, BUT WE ARE NOW ATTEMPTING TO PROJECT THEM ON AN ANNUAL BASIS. WE HAVE MADE SOME PRELIMINARY ALLOCATIONS, BUT WE ARE REVIEWING ALL THE ALLOCATIONS AGAIN, AND I DO NOT THINK A FINAL JUDGMENT CAN BE MADE UNTIL

AFTER I RETURN TO WASHINGTON, BUT I CAN SAY THAT WE ARE REVIEWING THE SITUATION ONCE AGAIN TO SEE WHAT THE MAXIMUM IS THAT THE US HAS AVAILABLE FOR THIS YEAR, AND AFTER THIS YEAR WE HOPE TO PUT IT ON A MORE LONG-TERM BASIS.

9. Q: MR. SECRETARY, CAN YOU TELL US THE CURRENT VIEW OF THE US ON ISRAEL NEGOTIATING WITH THE PALESTINIAN LIBERATION ORGANIZATION?

A: I HAVE NOT HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW THE AUTHORITATIVE UNCLASSIFIED

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STATEMENTS FROM THE RABAT SUMMIT, NOR HAVE I HAD ANY FORMAL COMMUNICATION FROM ANY OF THE PARTICIPANTS OR ANY COMMUNICATION FROM ANY OF THE PARTICIPANTS AT THE RABAT SUMMIT. THE UNITED STATES VIEW AS TO THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY OF NEGOTIATING HAS BEEN STATED PREVIOUSLY, WHICH IS, THAT IT WOULD BE MOST EFFECTIVE IF ISRAEL NEGOTIATED WITH JORDAN ABOUT THE WEST BANK. WE WILL NOW HAVE TO STUDY THE COMMUNIQUE AT RABAT TO SEE WHAT THE IMPLICATIONS ARE FOR FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS, AND OF COURSE THIS DEPENDS VERY MUCH ON THE VIEWS OF ALL OF THE PARTIES AND NOT JUST OF ONE OF THE PARTIES.

10. Q: DR. KISSINGER YOU HAVE MADE MANY IMPOSSIBLE THINGS POSSIBLE. I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHAT IS YOUR SECRET OF SUCCESS IN DIPLOMACY?

A: NOTHING IS MORE DANGEROUS THAN TO CLAIM SUCCESS IN DIPLOMACY. I DO NOT BELIEVE IN STATEMENTS OF MIRACULOUS ACHIEVEMENTS. ANYTHING THAT IS DONE IS THE RESULT OF CAREFUL PREPARATION, AND AN ENORMOUS AMOUNT OF DETAIL, AS WELL AS THE RESULT OF OBJECTIVE CIRCUMSTANCES: THAT EXIST, THAT CANNOT BE CREATED; THAT CAN ONLY BE USED. BUT I APPRECIATE THE QUESTION.

11. Q: THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE STATES THAT THE COUNTRIES OF THE SUBCONTINENT COULD LIVE WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE. BUT UNFORTUNATELY AS AMERICA'S RECORD RECENTLY SUGGESTS THE INTERFERENCE IN CHILE, THE COUP IN CYPRUS, AS RECORDED BY CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE EVIDENCE SUGGESTS THAT AMERICA IS INTEREED IN ACTIVITIES FOMENTING THE OVERTHROW OF CONSTITUTIONALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENTS. HOW DOES IT RECONCILE WITH THE HIGH-MINDED PRINCIPLE ENUNCIATED IN THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE?

--NOT WHOLLY OR ALONE IN THE INDIAN CONTEXT EITHER, WE ALL KNOW FROM AMBASSADOR MOYNIHAN'S TELEGRAPHIC CABLE TO YOU.

A: AS I HAVE HAD OCCASSION TO SAY YESTERDAY, AMBASSADOR MOYNIHAN SENDS ME MANY CABLES OF GREAT ELOQUENCE DESIGNED TO EXPLAIN TO ME THE POINT OF VIEW OF INDIANS, AND THIS IS A POINT OF VIEW THAT YOU HAVE JUST NOW REPEATED. NOW, IN GOING THROUGH THE PARTICULAR EVENTS WHICH YOU MENTION, NO USEFUL PURPOSE WOULD BE SERVED BY GOING INTO EACH OF THE INSTANCES EXCEPT TO POINT OUT THAT THE UNITED STATES DID NOT FOMENT THE OVERTHROW OF A CONSTITUTIONAL

GOVERNMENT IN CHILE. THAT HAS BEEN MADE SUFFICIENTLY PLAIN BY THE UNCLASSIFIED

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PRESIDENT. SECONDLY, THE UNITED STATES HAD NOTHING WHATEVER TO DO WITH THE COUP IN CYPRUS; THIS IS SIMPLY REPEATING TOTALLY UNFOUNDED PROPAGANDA. THIRDLY, THE UNITED STATES IS NOT ENGAGED, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, IN ANY ATTEMPT TO INFLUENCE THE DOMESTIC SITUATION IN INDIA. IT HAS NOT AUTHORIZED SUCH A PROGRAM; IT IS NOT ENGAGED IN SUCH A PROGRAM; AND IT HAS REPEATEDLY POINTED OUT THAT IF ANY OF ITS OFFICIALS SHOULD EVER BE CAUGHT IN AN UN-AUTHORIZED ACTION, WE WOULD TAKE STRONG MEASURES. SO, I REJECT THE IMPLICATION THAT THE UNITED STATES IS ENGAGED ON A SYSTEMATIC BASIS IN UNDERMINING ANY GOVERNMENT, AND, PARTICULARLY, CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENTS. EXACTLY THE OPPOSITE IS TRUE.

12. Q: DR. KISSINGER, WHAT IS THE SPECIAL MISSION AND PROGRAM OF YOUR LATEST VISIT TO INDIA, AND ALSO KINDLY TELL US THAT WHAT IS YOUR LATEST ASSESSMENT ABOUT INDIA-AMERICA RELATIONS?

A: I AGREE WITH THE ASSESSMENT OF YOUR PRIME MINISTER WHO SAID THAT INDIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS ARE GOOD AND SHOULD BE GETTING BETTER. I AGREE THAT THEY ARE GOOD, I BELIEVE THAT THEY ARE GETTING BETTER, AND OUR BIG PROBLEM

NOW IS AND I BELIEVE WE WILL DEAL WITH IT SUCCESSFULLY IS TO KEEP THEM ON A STEADY BASIS, FREE OF THE FLUCTUATIONS THAT HAVE CHARACTERIZED THEM IN THE PAST.

13. Q. DR. KISSINGER, DO YOU THINK THAT THE INDO-SOVIET TREATY FOR PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP COMES IN THE WAY OF INDO-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP. SECONDLY, ON YOUR WAY TO DELHI YOU STOPPED OVER IN MOSCOW. DID YOU SENSE ANY SENSE OF DISQUIET AND CONCERN ABOUT YOUR VISIT TO INDIA OR DID THEY WISH YOU SUCCESS AND GODSPEED?

A: WELL, I DON'T THINK THAT SOVIET LEADERS ARE GIVEN TO EXCESSIVELY EMOTIONAL STATEMENTS WHEN I ARRIVE OR DEPART. BUT, OF COURSE THE SOVIET LEADERS KNEW THAT I WAS GOING TO INDIA FROM MOSCOW PRIOR TO MY GOING TO MOSCOW. I FOUND NO EXPRESSION OF DISQUIET OR UNHAPPINESS; BUT I THINK THE SOVIET LEADERS SHOULD SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES. AS FOR THE UNITED STATES, WE ARE INTERESTED IN INDIA CONDUCTING AN INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY IN A SUBCONTINENT FREE OF OUTSIDE PRESSURES. IF INDIA CONDUCTS SUCH A FOREIGN POLICY, AS I BELIEVE IT HAS, THEN WITH WHAT OTHER COUNTRIES IT MAY HAVE TREATIES OF CONSULTATION IS THE BUSINESS OF INDIA AND NOT A MATTER UNCLASSIFIED

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IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES WOULD EXPRESS AN OPINION. WE DO NOT CONSIDER THE TREATY AS IT EXISTS NOW, AND THE MANNER IN WHICH IT HAS BEEN IMPLEMENTED, AN OBSTACLE TO IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES.

14 A: YOU STATED HERE, AS YOU HAD PREVIOUSLY AT THE UNITED NATIONS, THAT THE UNITED STATES STRONGLY FAVORS AN EMBARGO ON THE EXPORT OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE TECHNOLOGY. WHAT RESPONSE DID YBK RECEIVE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER?

A: WELL, FIRST OF ALL THIS IS NOT EXACTLY A PRECISE DESCRIPTION OF WHAT THE US POSITION IS. THE US POSITION IS THAT COUNTRIES IN A POSITION TO EXPORT NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY SHOULD DO SO IN A MANNER THAT DOES NOT CONTRIBUTE TO THE SPREAD OF EXPLOSIVE AND ESPECIALLY OF WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY, AND THAT THIS SHOULD BE DONE ON A MULTILATERAL BASIS BY ALL COUNTRIES THAT HAVE A CAPABILITY TO EXPORT NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY. I WAS, FIRST OF ALL, AS OUR COMMUNIQUE MAKES CLEAR, ASSURED THAT INDIA HAD NO INTENTION TO DEVELOP A WEAPONS PROGRAM AND I TOOK OCCASION TO WELCOME THIS STATEMENT. SECONDLY, WE WILL CONSULT WITH INDIA WITH OTHER COUNTRIES ABOUT THE SAFEGUARDS WHICH WE CONSIDER USEFUL AND WHICH WE ARE PREPARED TO APPLY ALSO TO OURSELVES; SO THIS IS NOT INTENDED IN ANY DISCRIMATORY SENSE AGAINST ANY ONE COUNTRY. AND I BELIEVE THAT WE CAN HAVE USEFUL DISCUSSIONS ON THAT BASIS.

15. Q: DR. KISSINGER, I ASKED YOU WHAT THE PRIME MINISTER'S RESPONSE WAS.

A: WELL, I HAVE GIVEN YOU AS MUCH AS I AM PREPARED TO DO ON THIS BASIS OF A PRIVATE CONVERSATION.

16.Q: WE HAVE COME TO KNOW EVEN FROM THE AMERICAN OFFICIAL SOURCES THAT YOU GAVE A VERY CAREFUL LISTENING WHENEVER THE DIEGO GARCIA QUESTION AROSE IN THE TALK. I WANT TO KNOW WHY NOT SOME CLEAR EXPRESSION CAME FROM YOUR SIDE REGARDING THIS QUESTION AND IT REMAINED ONLY UP TO THE LISTENING POINT?

A: I DON'T KNOW WHETHER IT IS CORRECT TO SAY THAT THERE WAS NO CLEAR EXPRESSION OF VIEWS. I THINK THERE WAS AN ABSENCE OF IDENTITY UNCLASSIFIED

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OF VIEWS ON THAT SUBJECT. WE RESPECT THE INDIAN POINT OF VIEW AND, OF COURSE, WE HAVE OUR OWN ON THAT MATTER.

17.Q: DURING YOUR VISIT IN ROME, IN ADDITION TO ATTENDING THE FOOD CONFERENCE, ARE YOU PLANNING TO MEET OUR PRESIDENT LEONE TO REVIEW THE VERY HEAVY ITALIAN POLITICAL SITUATION?

A: I EXPECT TO HAVE DINNER WITH PRESIDENT LEONE. BUT THE ITALIAN POLITICAL SITUATION IS TOO COMPLICATED FOR ME TO UNDERSTAND (EXCLAMATION). THIS WILL NOT BE ONE OF THE SUBJECTS OF OUR DISCUSSION.

18.Q: THE US PRESIDENT HAS SAID THAT WHAT YOU DID IN CHILE-- NAMEDLY FINANCING OF OPPOSITION PARTIES AND PAPERS AND ALSO STRIKES BY LABOR AND TRANSPORT -- IT WAS ACCORDING TO USA IN THE INTERESTS

OF THE CHILEAN PEOPLE. WHAT GUARANTEE IS THERE THAT YOU WILL NOT DO THE SAME THING IN INDIA IF THE USA CONSIDERS IT TO BE IN THE INTEREST OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE?

A: FIRST OF ALL, IT HAS BEEN REPEATEDLY DENIED THAT THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTED STRIKES IN CHILE. I DON'T THINK THIS IS THE APPROPRIATE PLACE TO GO INTO DETAILS OF A SUBJECT WHICH IS MORE COMPLEX THAN HAS BEEN POSSIBLE TO DISCUSS THROUGH A SERIES OF ISOLATED LEAKS. THE ASSURANCE YOU HAVE IS THAT I HAVE STATED THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT, AND IS NOT NOW, INTERVENING IN ANY MANNER WHATSOEVER, FOR ANY PURPOSE WHATSOEVER, IN THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF INDIA. THIS ASSURANCE WILL BE OF COURSE MAINTAINED.

19.Q: IN YOUR SPEECH TO THE INDIAN COUNCIL OF WORLD AFFAIRS YOU LINKED THE QUESTIONS OF FOOD WITH THE ENERGY CRISIS. ARE YOU IN FACT SAYING THAT THE US CANNOT GO ON INDEFINITELY PROVIDING MASSIVE FOOD RELIEF, IF COUNTRIES IN THE THIRD WORLD SUCH AS INDIA DO NOT SUPPORT THE AMERICAN POSITION- IN FACT YOUR POSITION- ON THE OIL CRISIS?

A: FIRST OF ALL, WE HAVE TALKED IN A NUMBER OF FORUMS ABOUT THE PROBLEMS OF FOOD AND THE PROBLEMS OF ENERGY- NOT TO LINK THEM AS CONDITIONS TO EACH OTHER, BUT IN ORDER TO EMPHASIZE THAT CURRENT PROBLEMS HAVE BECOME GLOBAL, THAT THE WORLD HAS BECOME INTERDEPENDENT AND THAT NATIONAL SOLUTIONS TO ANY OF THESE PROBLEMS ARE IMPOSSIBLE. THERE CAN BE NO VICTORS IN A BLOC APPROACH TO THESE
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ISSUED BECAUSE EVEN THOSE WHO CONTROL THE RESOURCES, BE IT OF FOOD OR OF ENERGY, WOULD BECOME THE VICTIMS OF AN ECONOMIC COLLAPSE THAT ASSUMES WORLDWIDE PROPORTIONS. THIS IS THE BASIC THEME THAT THE UNITED STATES IS URGING. WE ARE NOT MAKING OUR APPROACH IN ROME OUR APPROACH ON FOOD, CONDITIONAL ON HAVING OUR VIEWS MET ON ENERGY. WE ARE PRESENTING THEM IN PARALLEL AS ILLUSTRATIONS OF AN APPARENT PROBLEM. NOW WITH RESPECT TO ENERGY, I BELIEVE THAT INDIA IS PERFECTLY CAPABLE OF MAKING UP ITS OWN MIND AS TO THE IMPACT OF HIGH ENERGY PRICES WITHOUT PRESSURE TACTICS FROM THE UNITED STATES BECAUSE IT IS PRECISELY COUNTRIES LIKE INDIA WHERE SUFFER MOST FROM AN INCREASE IN BOTH ENERGY AND IN FOOD AND FERTILIZER PRICES. AND THEREFORE, I DON'T BELIEVE THAT THERE IS ANY NEED FOR ME TO GIVE LONG LECTURES TO INDIAN LEADERS ABOUT A MATTER THAT AFFECTS THEM SO IMMEDIATELY, I HAVE NOT ASKED FOR FORMAL SUPPORT FROM INDIA AT EITHER THE FOOD CONFERENCE OR WITH RESPECT TO ENERGY SINCE I'M CONFIDENT THAT INDIA IS PERFECTLY CAPABLE OF MAKING UP ITS OWN MIND ON THAT SUBJECT.

20. Q: MR SECRETARY, THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF INDIA EXTENDED A CORDIAL INVITATION TO THE DISTINGUISHED LADY ACCOMPANYING YOU ON THIS TOUR. MAY I EXTRACT A PROMISE FROM YOU THAT WHENEVER THIS DISTINGUISHED LADY PREFERENCES TO COME TO INDIA A SECOND TIME, YOU WOULD ACCOMPANY HER?

A: THANK YOU VERY MUCH. I WILL, YES.
MOYNIHAN

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